

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1812. [Price 1s.

257]

[258

N. B.—The Indexes and Tables to Volume XXII of the Register are published, as usual, and to be had, of course, through the same channels that the Register is had.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.—The rejoicings, on account of the result of this battle, though very loud and long immediately under the eye of the government, do not appear to have reached very widely over the country, for which I can, however, see no reason, except that of a conviction in the people's minds, that the victory only tended to prolong the war; for, in point of glory, it is certainly the greatest victory that has been gained by England in our day, and, indeed, since the reign of Queen Anne. By sea we have been accustomed to beat every body. Battles at sea are much more matters of *skill* than of personal valour. The men engaged scarcely *see* their enemy. The danger may be as great, but it is not *seen*. Men in a ship are like men in a fortified place. A battle at sea is an affair of ropes and sails and rudders. The victory depends, in a great measure, upon the *dexterity* of the parties engaged. But, in a *land* battle, the result generally depends upon the degrees of *personal courage* possessed by the parties engaged. In a *sea* battle no man can skulk from his post if he would. The greatest coward is as efficient, generally speaking, as the bravest man. But, in a *land* battle, men may generally skulk if they will. There are so many opportunities of avoiding bodily danger, that a coward will seldom fail to avail himself of some one or other of them. From a ship there is no *desertion* during a battle; from an army there may be much.—For these reasons I am always inclined to be more proud of victories (I mean real ones) gained by land, than of victories gained by sea, though in the sea service it often happens that there are occasions for performing prodigious feats of valour.—Nevertheless, it is certain, that, throughout the country, the news of the victory of Salamanca has been very *coldly* received. It does not appear

to have excited half so much joy as was excited by the *death* (not the *killing*) of the late prime minister Perceval; at which I rather wonder, because, as I have before observed, the victory is something for us to be proud of, whatever it may lead to; and it is the more worthy of our applause, as it forms such a contrast with the events of the campaigns on the continent, which ended at *Dunkirk* and the *Helder*. Our army has here beaten a French army. We were, it may be said, greatly superior in numbers. I do not mind that; for we were not so much superior in numbers as to prevent a French Marshal from giving us battle. Our army has beaten a French army, and our General has beaten a French Marshal. We have, too, taken 7,000 men prisoners of war, with a due proportion of officers. This is, therefore, a victory, and, in a military point of view, something to be proud of; but, while I think the country has received the victory rather coldly, I must say, that the hired news-papers have been as indiscreet on the other side. To hear them, one would think that England never won a victory before; that this was her first-born in the way of victories; and that, in short, she was beside her senses with joy upon the occasion.—Reflection should make them more moderate; for, after all, Marshal the Duke of Albufera has sent to France at least six times as many prisoners as all our generals put together have taken during the whole war. The boastings, therefore, should have some bounds; for, if we are thus to boast at the taking of 7,000 prisoners, what would the French be justified in doing at the taking of more than 100,000 prisoners in this same war of the Peninsula? And what would they be justified in doing at the taking of the more, perhaps, than *two* millions of prisoners, whom they have taken since the commencement of their revolution? Our hired writers should think of these things in the midst of their excessive joy, or, rather, their affectation of that joy; for, as to any *feeling* upon the subject, they have no more than the table upon which I am writing.—There was one transaction, relating to the London rejoicings, which I

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

255]

[256

IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the **COURIER**:—"The Mutiny amongst the **LOCAL MILITIA**, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the *arrival* of four squadrons of the **GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY** from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the **Political Register**, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the **Political Register**; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the news-man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds **TO THE KING**, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds **TO THE KING**, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Baxter of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

Published by R. BAGSHAW, Brydges-Street, Covent-Garden.

LONDON: Printed by J. M'Creery, Black Horse-Court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1812. [Price 1s.

257]

N. B.—The Indexes and Tables to Volume XXII of the Register are published, as usual, and to be had, of course, through the same channels that the Register is had.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.—The rejoicings, on account of the result of this battle, though very loud and long immediately under the eye of the government, do not appear to have reached very widely over the country, for which I can, however, see no reason, except that of a conviction in the people's minds, that the victory only tended to prolong the war; for, in point of glory, it is certainly the greatest victory that has been gained by England in our day, and, indeed, since the reign of Queen Anne. By sea we have been accustomed to beat every body. Battles at sea are much more matters of *skill* than of personal valour. The men engaged scarcely see their enemy. The danger may be as great, but it is not seen. Men in a ship are like men in a fortified place. A battle at sea is an affair of ropes and sails and rudders. The victory depends, in a great measure, upon the *dexterity* of the parties engaged. But, in a *land* battle, the result generally depends upon the degrees of *personal courage* possessed by the parties engaged. In a *sea* battle no man can skulk from his post if he would. The greatest coward is as efficient, generally speaking, as the bravest man. But, in a *land* battle, men may generally skulk if they will. There are so many opportunities of avoiding bodily danger, that a coward will seldom fail to avail himself of some one or other of them. From a ship there is no *desertion* during a battle; from an army there may be much.—For these reasons I am always inclined to be more proud of victories (I mean real ones) gained by land, than of victories gained by sea, though in the sea service it often happens that there are occasions for performing prodigious feats of valour.—Nevertheless, it is certain, that, throughout the country, the news of the victory of Salamanca has been very *coldly* received. It does not appear

to have excited half so much joy as was excited by the *death* (not the *killing*) of the late prime minister Perceval; at which I rather wonder, because, as I have before observed, the victory is something for us to be proud of, whatever it may lead to; and it is the more worthy of our applause, as it forms such a contrast with the events of the campaigns on the continent, which ended at *Dunkirk* and the *Helder*. Our army has here beaten a French army. We were, it may be said, greatly superior in numbers. I do not mind that; for we were not so much superior in numbers as to prevent a French Marshal from giving us battle. Our army has beaten a French army, and our General has beaten a French Marshal. We have, too, taken 7,000 men prisoners of war, with a due proportion of officers. This is, therefore, a victory, and, in a military point of view, something to be proud of; but, while I think the country has received the victory rather coldly, I must say, that the hired news-papers have been as indiscreet on the other side. To hear them, one would think that England never won a victory before; that this was her first-born in the way of victories; and that, in short, she was beside her senses with joy upon the occasion.—Reflection should make them more moderate; for, after all, Marshal the Duke of Albufera has sent to France at least six times as many prisoners as all our generals put together have taken during the whole war. The boastings, therefore, should have some bounds; for, if we are thus to boast at the taking of 7,000 prisoners, what would the French be justified in doing at the taking of more than 100,000 prisoners in this same war of the Peninsula? And what would they be justified in doing at the taking of the more, perhaps, than *two* millions of prisoners, whom they have taken since the commencement of their revolution? Our hired writers should think of these things in the midst of their excessive joy, or, rather, their affectation of that joy; for, as to any *feeling* upon the subject, they have no more than the table upon which I am writing.—There was one transaction, relating to the London rejoicings, which I

[258

must not omit to notice in a particular manner. There were, it appears, numerous acts of violence committed against persons who did not choose to illuminate their houses; and this is quite decisive as to the *real cause* of the *generality* of the illumination. When we are told, that those who did *not* illuminate, had their houses demolished, in whole or in part, we need not be told what was the general motive of those who *did* illuminate. In the country, where there was *no smashing of houses*, there were *no illuminations*. Here are cause and effect as clear as day-light; and all the efforts of all the hired writers in London will not remove them from the mind of any rational man.—But, the transaction, to which I particularly allude, is of another sort: it relates to the Marquis Wellesley, and it is well worthy of the reader's attention. I copy the account from the Courier news-paper of the 19th of August, in the following words:—“*Lord Wellesley* “went out on Monday night in a plain “carriage to view the illuminations, and “near the Admiralty was recognized by “the people, who proposed to draw his “carriage, which he endeavoured to dis- “suade them from carrying into effect, ex- “cusing himself with many expressions of “thanks. They suffered him to proceed “towards Whitehall, but on his return to “Charing-cross they took off his horses, “and drew his carriage along the Strand, “Fleet-street, &c. to St. Paul's, and the “Mansion-house, and back again by the “way of Pall Mall, St. James's-street, and “Piccadilly, to Apsley-house. The carri- “age was followed by an immense crowd, “who halted frequently for the purpose of “cheering the name of Lord Wellington, “and of haranguing Lord Wellesley in “language of warm congratulation. His “Lordship repeatedly addressed the multi- “tude. He stated shortly, but with great “force, the eminent services of his gallant “brother in India, as well as in Europe, “and the prominent features of his charac- “ter, which had obtained for him the una- “nymous esteem and love of his army, “and the applause which his countrymen “were then bestowing upon him. They “might applaud him, he said, for his at- “tention to the comforts and wants of his “men—**HIS CARE OF HIS WOUND-** “**ED**—his attention to the sufferings of our “allies—and his humanity to the enemy “when subdued or captured. His Lord- “ship was interrupted with cheers that “rent the skies between each instance of

“the merits of Lord Wellington's charac- “ter. Upon these occasions, the carriage “was stopped at St. Paul's, the Mansion- “house, and in the square of Somerset- “house. At the Mansion-house Lord “Wellesley apprized the crowd that the “Lord Mayor was a warm friend of Lord “Wellington, and, with the chief Officers “of the City, had often expressed appro- “bation of his services, upon which they “cheered the Lord Mayor loudly. The “crowd halted at Carlton-house, and “cheered the Prince Regent most cordially. “At St. James's they stopped, and *cheered* “*his Majesty*; and Lord Wellesley having “proposed *the Duke of York and the Army*, “*his Royal Highness was loudly cheered*. “On arriving at Apsley-house, Lord Wel- “lesley took leave by returning thanks for “the gratifying marks of attention he had “received; assuring them at the same time, “that he had **NOT THE VANITY** to “apply them in the smallest degree **TO** “**HIMSELF** personally. Upon which they “shouted, “we mean them for **YOU** “**TOO.**” “*I receive them, then,*” said “Lord W. “as the *most unequivocal* “*proofs of public spirit—of zealous attach-* “*ment for your Prince—of loyalty to your* “*King—and of love for the true interests* “*of your country.* I receive them as a “most gratifying proof of your opinion, “that the services of Lord Wellington, of “myself, and of my family, have always “been directed to maintain the honour and “dignity of the Crown, and to the promo- “tion of your best interests.”—Now, in the first place, it was an odd sort of cu- riosity that must have taken Lord Wellesley out at such a time. To “*view illumi-* “*nations!*” I suppose he has a taste in that way. Aye; but he went out in a plain carriage. But, why go in any carriage at all, and especially *alone*; for nothing is said of any one being with him: he seems to have had all the cheering to himself. Then, what an odd whim it was in “the “people” (for they were here *the people*) to draw him first *away from his home* and then *to his home!* What should they draw him into the city for? Why should they suppose, that such a jaunt would be agree- able to him? The reader, however, will want nothing more than the publication it- self to make him understand the whole of the transaction, from first to last. It is, indeed, too plain to need any thing more than the bare publication of the account. —Since writing the above, I have, through the news-papers, received the

French account of the Battle of Salamanca, from which it appears, that the Duke of Ragusa was wounded before the Battle began. We have not, therefore, beaten a French *Marshal*; but, we have beaten his army under a *French General*, and that is quite glory enough.—The French *cover* the disaster as well as they can; but they *confess a defeat*, a thing that is *never* done by our ministerial papers. The word defeat, as applied to us, is an useless part of our language. This confession of a defeat entitles the French accounts to the more credit; and, indeed, their Bulletins have all along proved, in the end, to have been factually true.—The French papers also inform us, that, in the East of Spain, the Spaniards have suffered a severe defeat, and the object of our expedition from Sicily has been frustrated.—In a military point of view, therefore, the consequences of the victory of Salamanca do not promise to be great. Our army is not strong enough to remain long in the heart of Spain unsupported by any other force; and, I am, for once, inclined to believe the Times newspaper, which confesses, that that army is “surrounded by enemies, except in its rear,” from which it has swept them.—The passage (in the Times of Aug. 25) in which this observation is made, is very curious, and worthy of note at this moment:—“We cannot close this account “without speaking more on the affairs connected with this quarter of the Peninsula. “General Maitland has, we hear, returned “from Port Mahon to Sicily, in consequence of orders conveyed to him by “General Donkin. All our expectations, “therefore, of an efficient diversion on the “eastern coast of Spain, must, we fear, be “relinquished; and *without such diversion*, “*what can our gallant little army, with its “heroic Chief, perform in the heart of the “country, surrounded every where by enemies except in its rear*, from whence it “has itself wiped them away? With that “diversion, so much hoped for, and so confidently expected, Lord Wellington would “have had the power of either pursuing “the remains of Marmont’s army to Burgos, or of marching directly to Madrid. “Without it, *he can do neither*; for, unhappily, there is no efficient army organized in Galicia, as there ought to have “been, to assist his Lordship in clearing “the north of Spain; and as to our marching to Madrid, Suchet is now disengaged “to advance thither, and join Joseph “Buonaparte.”—This sounds very much

like what the drummers call a *ruffle*; that is to say, a little play upon the head of the drum, preparatory to some regular beat; and, I should not wonder if the hireling who wrote this was in expectation of being called upon to beat the *retreat* in a short time. If this should be the case, and it is very far indeed from being impossible, what shall we have got for our 3,561 English soldiers, killed, wounded, and *missing*? If our army should be compelled to retreat, what will have been *gained*? Really nothing; but, a great deal will have been *lost*. The army will have been greatly weakened; it will have got farther from its resources; it will have encumbered itself even with its prisoners; it may meet with great disasters, and it will be sure to suffer very much from fatigue.—I repeat it, that if this battle be followed by a speedy retreat, it will have been an event most disastrous to the war in the peninsula.—The accounts from France may, however, not be true, or, at least, not to the extent mentioned in our newspapers. Yet, as the Times now confesses, it is, I believe, but too true, that “our gallant little army “is surrounded every where by enemies “except in its rear, from whence it has “itself wiped them away;” which, if it mean any thing; if it really have a meaning, means, that the whole country is inhabited by enemies to our army and its cause; a meaning that is very clear indeed, but that gives the lie direct to all the past assertions of this same print, relative to the disposition of the people of Spain, whom it has represented as holding the French and their cause in the utmost abhorrence; as hating them and loving us; as ready to perish to the last man rather than submit to French sway.—The present is an awkward time to make this new discovery; but, reader, it indicates a *retreat*; be assured, that he who wrote this paragraph for the Times newspaper, has reason, or thinks he has reason, to believe, that the Battle of Salamanca will be speedily followed by a retreat.—How often have I called upon the hired writers to get out of the dilemma in which they were placed by their assertions relative to the disposition of the people of Spain? I have said to them: ‘You tell us, that the people of Spain are unanimous in their detestation of the French; that the people of Spain are brave; that the people of Spain are hearty in our cause, which they know to be the cause of freedom; and that they are ready to perish in that cause.’ Now, if

these things be not true, you are guilty of promulgating falsehoods; and if these things be true, what an army, what generals, what soldiers, must Napoleon have in Spain; seeing that, in spite of all the efforts of eleven millions of brave people, fired with hatred against the French, and prodigal of life in their hostility, and in spite also of all the assistance given to those eleven millions of people by an English army and an English fleet, the French still keep possession of the Capital of Spain, and of the far greater part of the provinces!—They never have answered me. They have never attempted to get out of this dilemma. But now, the Times newspaper confesses, that our army, in the heart of Spain, is *surrounded with enemies*.—Wonderful as this fact may seem to some persons, I believe it most fully. Sir John Moore found enemies in Spain; and, I have never yet heard any one of our generals say, in any official paper, that he found many friends there. *We* wonder, or, at least, most of us do, that there should be found upon the whole earth, any human creature not to abhor the French, and particularly the Emperor Napoleon. Some in this country hate him because they fear that his power may finally overset, degrade and ruin them; while others, having no means of judging themselves, believe what they are told respecting him, and, of course, look upon him as a being somewhat like the Devil, and not to hate whom would be immoral in the highest degree. —But, the people of other countries have other grounds whereon to form their judgment, and their consequent liking or disliking of Napoleon. *We feel* nothing of him. *We judge* from mere report. Some of them feel, and they judge and act upon that feeling.—The people of Spain, for instance, have *felt* and are *feeling* the consequences of Napoleon's taking possession and assuming the sovereignty of their country. Amongst those consequences has been the abolition of the *Inquisition*, a thing which we, from the cradle, have been taught to hold in utter detestation. The people of Spain have also been freed from the burden of maintaining innumerable swarms of *monks* and their like, much more destructive to the country than the locusts ever are to any of the countries they visit with their depredations. Many of the great landholders have fled, and of necessity their lands fall to the lot of men who before possessed little, or none, of the soil. The estate ~~Didoth~~ ^{of the} monasteries, forming,

perhaps, a good third part of the country, must have been divided and sold. The *tithes* are no longer paid, or yielded in kind; and, in short, the fruit of the earth, which was before taken in so great a part for the use of those who did not labour, now necessarily finds its way into the mouths or the pockets of those who do labour.—Whether this change be right; whether it ought to have been made; whether the people be or be not guilty of sin in liking such a change, and in being glad at getting rid of various other burdens; whether they ought to like the French for being the cause of this change, or ought to hate them for it: these questions I do not pretend to answer; but, I humbly beg leave to think, that they *do not* dislike the French for having produced this change, and that the real cause of our army being surrounded by enemies in Spain, is, that the people of Spain look upon us as hostile to the change that has taken place.—We say, and, perhaps, with some little reason, that if Napoleon get safe and quiet possession of Spain, he will have in his hands the means of doing us mortal mischief; that Ireland will then be exposed to his attacks; and that, in short, our independence will be in jeopardy. This is a very good reason for *our* wishing to drive Napoleon out of Spain; but, with all submission to the dust of Mr. Perceval, it is no reason whatever for *the people of Spain* to wish to drive him out. We wish to drive him out, because his being in would be *injurious to us*; and, as soon as we can convince the people of Spain that they are now *worse off* than they were before, they too will wish to drive him out; but, until such conviction be produced in their minds, we may be well assured, that they will not be very zealous in our cause; or in the cause of any body whose object it is to effect a counter-revolution.—It is not, as I have often said; it is not the *sword* which will decide the fate of Europe. It is a *moral* cause that is at work. There is a change in the mind of man. He will no longer be what he has been. Spain will never submit to her old government, or to any thing nearly resembling it; while her colonies are openly employed in forming governments for themselves, founded on the very principles upon which the Americans and French made their revolutions, and which principles, indeed, were of English origin; the principles of *representative government*, which run through the whole of our ancient laws, written and



unwritten.—When, therefore, I hear men talk, when I hear the half-witted souls, who write our hired news-papers, talk of a *battle* deciding the fate of Spain, or of Portugal, or of Poland, or of Sicily, &c., it really sounds to me like the babble of little children talking of the business of manhood. Not fifty of their battles of Salamanca would arrest the progress of the human mind for a single month. The marchings and other operations of Napoleon's armies are the effects, not the causes, of the revolutions that are going on in Europe; and, it is owing to our regarding them as causes and not effects, that we and all our royal allies have failed in our endeavours to impede their progress. When we shall perceive our error time alone can tell.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.—As to the *political* consequences of the battle of Salamanca, the more I reflect on the subject, the more firm is my conviction, that, if negotiations for peace, or, at least, an offer on our part to treat, be not the consequence of the victory, no good whatever, but much harm, will arise from it.—I see it announced, that the *Duke D'Angouleme* has obtained our Regent's permission to serve as a volunteer in our army in the Peninsula, a circumstance which corroborates my apprehension of a design to revive the claim of the Bourbons in France; a design, which, if seriously entertained, would be, in my opinion, well calculated to excite alarm in the people of this country.—There are persons, I know, and I know it because I see their sentiments expressed in the corrupt news-papers; there are persons, who believe that it will NEVER be safe for the government of this country, as now constituted, to make peace with Napoleon. These persons think, and they say so, that, if he be left Emperor of France and King of Italy at a peace, no old government can long stand. Coming more closely to the point, they say, in substance, that it is as well for this government to perish in an endeavour to upset Napoleon as to make peace with him; because certain destruction to it follows the latter.—The war against republican France had a similar foundation. It was then said, that, to be sure, aristocracy and monarchy and ecclesiastical power might be defeated in the war against republicanism; but, that that was no argument against the war; because, they were sure to be upset by peace with the repub-

lic of France.—Whether this way of reasoning was then right or wrong I will leave the history of the last twenty years to say; but, it is odd enough, that there should be persons to use the same sort of arguments now, and as applied to what they call "*a military despotism*" in France. They were, in 1792, afraid of the *example* of the French; they were afraid of the *example* of "*republicans and levellers*;" they were afraid of the *contagion of anarchy*; and, they are now afraid of they know not what; for it is impossible, quite impossible, that they should be afraid that the existence of "*a military despotism*" in France should prove an incitement to the people of England to pursue the French example. This is impossible. There is, therefore, now no *contagion* to be apprehended, unless it be the contagion of that "*military despotism*," which, we are told, exists in France, and which example it is always in the power of our government not to follow. We are continually told by the hired writers, that the government of Napoleon is a cruel despotism; that the people abhor (as people ought to abhor) the despotism and the despot; that they would fain revolt against him, put him down, and restore their old government. If this be so, then, what have our establishments to fear from an intercourse and communication between the people of the two countries? If this be really so, our government and all its establishments must gain solidity by a peace; because peace could not fail to produce a great intercourse between the two nations. The French, by being able to come hither, would have opportunities of witnessing our state of blessedness, and of comparing it with that state of misery in which we are told they are; and the English, by being able to go to France, would have like opportunities of witnessing the state of the people there, compared with our own state. In short, proof of the facts would supplant hearsay. The people of both countries would soon know the truth; and, therefore, if the facts be as we are told; if the government of France be a despotism and the people in the deepest misery, I repeat, that peace, so far from being big with danger to our government and establishments, is the very thing of all others to render them secure for ever.—For these reasons, it is to me astonishing, that any one person should be found in England, who calls himself the friend of the government, and who, at the same time, expresses his disinclination

to a peace with France. It seems to me, that, if what we are told, relative to the state of France, be true, that the friends of our government ought to be the most strenuous advocates for peace with Napoleon; but, it is very certain that they are not; so that we are constrained to believe, that these gentlemen are not quite sincere, and that they do not believe France to be in so bad a state as they say she is; or, that they are not, at bottom, the friends of our government.—The intelligence which is now given us from the North of Europe places Napoleon in a state of *defeat* and of *danger*. This, therefore, is the time for us to offer him terms of peace. Indeed, it is so obviously the time, that if the offer be not *now* made, I shall, for my part, never expect to see peace made with him by our government. If this be not the proper time to make the offer, I do not see, and I cannot imagine the combination of circumstances that would render an offer of the kind proper. He is, or, at least, *so we are told*, beaten in the North, his armies are beaten in Spain, his people are ready to rise against him, and his army desert from him by tens of thousands at a time. All this is asserted, and asserted in the most positive manner, in our news-papers; and, if it be true, when can we expect such another occasion for offering him terms of peace? If it be *false*, indeed, that alters the case; but, this is what I say: either the people of England are told most atrocious falsehoods respecting the war and the situation of the Emperor Napoleon, or this is the time for our government to offer him terms of peace.

AMERICAN STATES.—At last, then, we have a war with these States, in due form. The documents, which I subjoin to this Summary, will show, that Letters of Marque have been issued, and that every other measure is now taken to cause the state of war between the two countries to be complete. Whether those, who so long disbelieved in war with America, will now believe in it, I shall not pretend to say. I question if they will till they hear of the capture of Canada; and even then they will, perhaps, say it “*is mere bluster.*”——War there now is, however, and war, unless we yield the point of impressing people out of American ships at sea, there will be; or, at least, that is my decided opinion. I do not say, that a *pause*, in the shape of an armistice, might not take place, in order to give time to

discuss the remaining points of difference; but, my judgment greatly deceives me, unless that point be insisted upon. America knows our situation well. She is well acquainted with our commercial distresses. She knows how necessary her food is to Portugal, Spain, and our armies; and she will make sure of accomplishing her object in a short space of time.—I am, besides, of opinion, that it is impossible for her government to view with indifference our ascendancy in the Councils of Old Spain, supposing the Napoleons to be driven out of that country. With our naval power, and with the Spanish colonies under our control, America must be in continual uneasiness. She will not, and she cannot, leave this matter out of her views of the necessity of war. I should, therefore, if I were the minister of this country, be prepared for a frank declaration upon the subject of Spanish affairs. I would disavow any intention to hold the colonies to the mother country. I would, at once, acknowledge the independence of the Caraccas, as Napoleon will, we may be well assured. It must be of the greatest importance to the American States to see her neighbours freed from European authority. Such an event would contribute not less to her safety than her riches. Indeed, she manifestly takes great interest in the changes going on in South America; and, now that she has arms in her hands, she will not, I dare say, fail to endeavour to give effect to her desires.—Our hireling newspapers, which, sometime back, were so bold upon the subject of America, have marvellously changed their tone. They now talk of nothing but peace and friendship with that Mr. Madison, who, only nine months, nay, six months, ago, was the object of their most contemptuous sneers. They have now found out, that freemen, though they do not rush headlong into war, will, in some cases, take up arms and use them too.

CANADA.—In the mean while the preparations for the defence of Canada do not seem to be making with any very great degree of zeal, on the part of the people. Indeed, it seems that just the contrary is the case; and that riots and insurrections are made against those who attempt to force the people to take up arms in defence of the province. I do not choose to state this without inserting, from the Courier news-paper of the 25th of August instant, the account of the disturbance that I more

particularly allude to. The account, as the reader will see, is dated at *Montreal*, and Montreal is the Capital of Upper Canada, *bordering upon the American States*, and the inhabitants of which province are not nearly so much French as those of the province of Lower Canada. — “*Montreal*, July 4. This city has been for a few days past in a state of agitation, occasioned by an event which has taken place at *Pointe Claire*; and as this matter will be clothed, no doubt, in all the dress of misrepresentation by our neighbouring enemies, from the information they may receive of it, we consider it a duty we owe to the community at large in this country, to state the circumstances as they occurred in a *fair, open, and candid manner*. — By the late Militia Law, 2,000 young men are to be drafted from the *general Militia* of the province for three months, to be properly trained, and of course, a certain proportion of this number is to be furnished by each particular district. Some of those drafted from the parish of *Pointe Claire* refused to march to *Laprairie*, for the purpose of joining the division stationed there; in consequence of which, Major Leprohon, belonging to this particular battalion, was sent on Tuesday last, with 22 attendants, to apprehend these refractory persons as *deserters*. — They apprehended four with some opposition; and on their way to town with them, they were followed by a considerable number of persons, who rescued one prisoner, and threatened that they would next day proceed to the depot at *Laprairie*, and bring away by force from thence the young men of that parish who were there on duty. Accordingly, on Wednesday, a large body of these people assembled at *La Chine*, with the intention of carrying their threats into execution. — Thos. M'Cord, Esq. one of the Police Magistrates, about four o'clock in the afternoon, left town, accompanied by the light infantry of the 49th regiment, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery, with two field-pieces, under the command of Major Plenderleath, and took post on a point opposite to the insurgents (consisting of about 400 persons, 80 of whom appeared to be armed) and at the distance of about two acres. Mr. M'Cord, with some other respectable citizens, pointed out the impropriety of their conduct, and the fate that would unfortu-

nately await their perseverance; urging them by every persuasion to disperse and return peaceably to their homes and obey the law. — They replied, that they did not consider the Militia Bill as fully passed—that they were informed it had not received the Royal sanction; and that although it might have passed the House of Assembly, where it originated, it had not obtained the approbation of the other branches of the Legislature; that the law, if really enacted, had not been promulgated amongst them, and that they were not properly made acquainted with it; as such, they could not pay obedience to it. — Under this false and unfortunate impression, these deluded people persisted; but at the same time declared, with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, that if the Government wanted their services at any time, they were ready, one and all, to come forward with their lives in the defence of their country, and that they would prove themselves in the hour of danger to be faithful subjects of a Government to which they were firmly attached by every principle. — Finding, however, that they still persisted in their determination on this particular object, Mr. M'Cord, in his magisterial capacity, read the Riot Act to them, and ordered them to disperse; which not being complied with, a round of shot was fired by the artillery, but elevated above injury, which was returned by the insurgents in a spirited fire with ball, deserving of a better cause. The troops then fired a volley with ball and grape, but still too much elevated to do any harm, which was also returned by another discharge from the mob, upon which a few directed shots were fired at them (it being nearly dark) by the military, which made them disperse, and one man was found killed and another wounded, it is feared mortally. — A straggling fire continued for a few minutes; and under cover of the night and the woods, they retreated. Three prisoners were sent to town in the evening, in charge of some citizens who volunteered for the purpose. The troops lay upon their arms all night, and none of the insurgents were to be found the next morning. — Much praise is due to Major Plenderleath, Captain Williams, and the officers and men of their detachment, for their cool and determined, but humane conduct, in sparing the lives of their deluded fellow-subjects on this occasion; and many of these unfor-

“fortunate men acknowledge the humane forbearance evinced by the military, that otherwise would have been fatal to most of them.—On Thursday morning strong detachments from the three town battalions of Militia, *forming about 450 men*, marched to La Chine, and from thence, accompanied by the military, proceeded to the village of Pointe Claire, where they halted that night, and in the morning marched from thence, in the rear of the island, and through St. Laureant, and yesterday arrived in town about four o'clock in the afternoon, bringing with them *twenty-four prisoners*, who with ten sent to town on Thursday, and the three already mentioned, of the preceding evening, make in all thirty-seven. These misguided men are now undergoing their examination before several of the town Magistrates at the Court-house. *Many more prisoners* might have been brought to town as strongly suspected, but were released on their promise to come and implore the pardon of his Excellency the Governor, who is now here, and which they did this morning to *the number of three or four hundred*. His Excellency expostulated with them as a father, and pointed out to them the danger of their situation in a style truly honourable to his own feelings, assuring them of his forgiveness on delivering up those who had been the promoters of the insurrection, if to be found, and the Militia deserters of their district, which they most cheerfully agreed to.—D. B. VIGOR, attorney, and PAPINEAU, jun. attorney, both of Montreal, and *Members of the House of Assembly* (it is said) were the chief promoters and instigators in these lawless proceedings.”—Now mind, this account sets out with promising a fair, open, and candid avowal of all that took place; and it calls these two gentlemen “Attorneys;” but it should have added, that, in all the States and Provinces in North America, the same persons are, at once, attorneys and barristers; that there is no distinction between the two professions; and that, all the Judges, Chancellors, and every one who has ever practised the law, in those countries, may, in this manner, be called attorneys. Mr. John Adams, who was President of the United States, may, in the same way, be called an Attorney. At any rate, it appears, that the two chief promoters, or, rather, two of the chief promoters of the disaffection to the service, were *Members of the House of Assembly*;

that is to say, legislators, or *law makers*; and, therefore, the matter is not so slight as it is attempted to make us believe. If a man or two had refused to join, and had been compelled to do so, it might have afforded little to talk of; but, we here see hundreds of the armed inhabitants assembled to defend certain persons from being *forced into the militia*! We see the regular army called out and marched against the people, to compel them to take up arms in defence of their country. These facts speak a clear language, and they are not to be silenced. There is no hiding these facts even from the people of England. Much is hidden from them, but facts like these, and so near to the seat of a *press really free*, are not to be hidden. They come too *disfigured*; they are not the same that they were at Montreal; they are disguised; but they cannot be wholly kept from view; and, to know the whole extent of them, we have only to get a single glimpse. The Americans, however, have them with all their circumstances; and, in considering them, they will not forget the Envoy Extraordinary of Sir James Craig; they will not forget *Captain Henry*!—This is a piece of intelligence of much greater importance than the recent intelligence from Salamanca; though not a word, not a single word, is said about it in the London newspapers. It is published, indeed; but the editors bestow not a word upon it. They are still too much engaged with the victory of Salamanca, and with cutting jokes upon the poor fallen Buonaparté.—They forget, that if Canada were lost, what a sensation it would produce, and that twenty battles of Salamanca would not wipe away the disgrace. They forget, too, that the intelligence is nothing short of *that of a great body of the people assembling, armed, to prevent young men from being forced into the militia*. Have they heard of any thing of this sort in France, or in any of the dominions of Napoleon? If they were to hear of such a thing, would they not pronounce him lost?

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 26th August, 1812.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND.

Report of the Diet.—Warsaw, July 1.

Our country begins at last to emerge from its ruins. Poland is re-established.

A General Diet has been assembled at Warsaw, and in the Sitting of the 23d of June, a Committee made the following Report:

Gentlemen,—If ever there existed among men an important commission, or if ever there was an honourable task assigned them, it is, without doubt, that which we have received from you. If ever a work directed to the mind and to the heart, all that is calculated to rouse the one or influence the other, it is certainly that to which you have directed our attention.—Placed, by a concourse of prodigies, at the close of the drama, in which our country perished, between the yet recent cradle of one part of that same country, and the tomb still open of the other—the picture which we have to present to you, the accents in which we should address you, to be faithful, ought to participate in the awful mixture of Life and Death. They ought, at the same time, to convey hope and consolation to the hearts of the victims, and terror to those of their oppressors. But that is not enough; it is fit that there should be placed in your hand, the thread which is to conduct you towards the issue of the labyrinth of misfortune, into which you have been made to wander during half a century. Your footsteps must be firmly placed in the new path, which circumstances lay open before you.—Such is the extent of the relations, under which your Committee has viewed the labour you have committed to its charge. The Committee has felt, that they had to appear before Europe, as well as before you; before ages to come, as well as before the present generation; before nations, as well as before Sovereigns; they have said to themselves, above all, that they spoke before the greatest of Sovereigns, and before their own great Nation. They have felt all the sanctity of your cause, the magnitude of its results; and more sustained than terrified by those powerful motives, they come to lay at the feet of this Senate, a work, of which they wish to make an offering to the Country, in the persons of those, in whom it has placed its confidence and its hope.—For a long time there had existed in the centre of Europe a celebrated nation, mistress of an extensive and fertile territory, renowned for the double fame of arts and arms, defending for ages the barriers of Europe with an unwearied arm against the barbarians who raged round its borders, and by a feature of character as honourable as peculiar, never using its military greatness to attempt against its neigh-

bours those acts which violence has often coloured with the pretext of right. A numerous population flourished on this soil: the liberality of nature answered to their labours. The Monarchs of the land had often taken their place in history, beside those who have most honoured the Supreme Rank; the dignity of sitting on her throne was solicited on all sides; and, if casual dissensions broke forth in her own bosom, the clouds obscured only her own horizon, and did not go forth to spread the storm afar. Gentlemen, this land was Poland; this people was yourselves; and what now are you? In vain our eyes look round on that assemblage whose reunion was once the source of our glory. Alas! those whom we now see only remind us of those whom we ought to see; and the feeble good which we have been permitted to enjoy, only impresses too strongly on us the loss which we have sustained. But how has this dissevering of our country been wrought? How has this great family, which even in all its divisions never separated,—which retained its union even through ages of dissensions,—how has this powerful family looked on, and suffered itself to be torn asunder? What have been its crimes? What its Judges? What the right by which it has been attacked, invaded, blotted out from the list of states and people? Whence have come its oppressors and its chains? The indignant universe will answer you for us. Every state, every people, will tell you, that it thought it saw its tomb opening beside that of Poland. In the daring profanation of those laws on which all forms of society equally depend, in the insolent contempt with which they were trampled on to ruin us, the world might well think that it was to be given up to the sole empire of interests, and that those were to be its only masters for the time to come. Europe, terrified, and threatened, pointed out above all to your just resentment that power which, in crushing you, only prepared to press upon her with a new impetus. We must not doubt it; it is Russia which has been the author of all our evils. Not content with the possession of a quarter of the globe, the world itself would scarcely have been large enough for her thirst of dominion. For a century she had been advancing with the stride of a giant towards countries that had scarcely heard her very name. With Peter the 1st the veil was raised, behind which an immense empire was forming, and where every thing excited the inhabitants to renew on Europe the devas-

tating incursions of their forefathers. This new display ought to have frozen Europe with terror, and made her seek, in her strongest precaution, the means of meeting this new danger: she ought to have shut her ports against the ambitious Prince who came to initiate himself in all the secrets of her arts, only, with them, to arm her against the hands of his ferocious and slavish people; and when Pultowa seemed only to have decided between Charles and Peter, Europe was conquered almost at the same moment with Sweden. Poland instantly felt the effects of this aggrandizement of the Russian power. Placed on the borders of its territory, she felt its first as she has felt its last blows. Who can enumerate them from 1717, when she tried her first influence by tampering with the Polish army? From that era what moment has been exempt from her influence and her outrages? In the first instance she interfered with that liberty of choice which had always fixed the Sovereigns of our country, she practised against the rights, of which the Nation had always exhibited the keenest jealousy. In a short time our richest inheritances were the reward of the favourites of our Sovereigns; our children, dragged into her armies, were forced to shed the blood which none but Russians^d should have poured; our harvests were gathered for her soldiers; every new war saw the Russian standards floating over the plains of Poland; it was by trampling the Polish soil that the Russian power approached gradually the body of Europe, over which it aspired to have the sole dominion.—If this crafty power ever united itself with Poland, it was to impose on her as in 1764, that fatal guarantee, which connected the integrity of our frontier with the perpetual existence of anarchy, to make of that anarchy an instrument of its ambition. The world know what their conduct has been since that fatal era. It is since that time that from division to division, Poland has at length totally disappeared, without guilt as without revenge. It is since that time that the Poles have heard with inward indignation the insulting language of the Repnins, of the Sivers, whom they have seen laying an audacious hand on the reins of Government. It is since that time that an hundred times the Russian soldier has been bathed in the blood of their countrymen, as a prelude to that day, for ever accursed, (do we require to have it brought to our memories?) when in the midst of the boastings of an absurd conqueror, Warsaw heard the cry

of the population of Praga, which was at last extinguished in blood and flames. Men of Poland—for the time is come to make that name ring in your ears; a name which is your own, which you ought never to have given up, see here the detestable means by which Russia has arrived at the possession of your finest provinces; see here the titles, the only titles, which she can assert over you. Force has chained you; force can break the chains which it has forged, and they shall be broken. What! can you doubt it when you look at what is passing on every side of you? Look! see if, of all that caused your ruin, a single feature remains! In the immense change which draws the world in its current, what do you find to remind you of the ancient dangers of your country? Instead of the jealousy of the great powers which nurtured in Europe an anarchy like that which tore your own bosom, a single spirit seems to animate the entire, your plains are covered with standards astonished at their new fraternity. Instead of neighbours eager for your spoils and accomplices in your ruin, all have united their arms to your's—instead of those shadows of armies which the entire of your early territory once scarcely furnished, numerous legions springing up as if by enchantment, from a corner of the same soil, glittering in the splendour of recent victory, formed in the school of the greatest of all Captains, by the example of the greatest of all armies, threaten your spoilers with their sabres of steel, raised from the same soil from which themselves have risen, and burn to hear the hour of vengeance strike. Instead of the feeble help which France once gave to the necessities of Poland, she now gives her whole vigour. France and Poland have always been friends—love has always been returned by love. The first complete use which Poland made of her liberty of election was, to call a Prince of the blood of France to the Throne. It was to France that Casimir looked for consolation in his sufferings on the Polish throne,—it was in France that Stanislaus realized the benevolent projects which he had destined for Poland. It is with nations as with men, the sympathies of interest form the most indissoluble bonds. But those ties were strongest between France and Poland. Those powers were necessary to each other. What do we say? Poland was necessary to Europe. She was necessary as a barrier against those hordes of half-refined barbarians who had always the strongest temptation to lay waste and to conquer the softer

climates of the South. Their attempts and invasions were becoming worthy of combined European policy to defeat. Within the last fifty years, Russia had deluged the South of Europe with her armies. The Turkish crescent was half broken; Frederick himself cannot defend his capital. In those later times, Italy has received them with horror among her smiling plains, and in vain invoked a new Marius. Who could believe it, the cries of the Scythian Savage were heard round the tomb of the Mantuan Swan? In their daring imprudence, thousands of those slaves, mowed down by the sabres of Frenchmen, came to fatten with their blood the free soil of Switzerland. It required the arm of an Hero to stop at Austerlitz the progress of their battalions; at a still more recent time, the arm of the same Hero was required to throw them back into their native forests. Those dangers have at length taught the nature and the necessity of their remedy; and that Prince, whose calculations embrace the future with as much facility as the present—the founder of a vast empire—has not been wanting to give it solidity. He knows that there must be a barrier, eternal and impenetrable, against the invasions of ignorance and barbarism. He knows that there must be a frontier, which will separate policed nations from savage; that it must be fenced with iron and the sword. He knows that the people, placed in the advanced guard of Europe, must have all the strength adequate to secure its repose. Thus, if once all things conspired our ruin, all things now unite for our restoration. Poland shall exist at last. At last! she exists now, or rather she has never ceased to exist. What have the perfidy, the plots, the outrages under which she sunk, to do with her rights? Yes, we are Poland, and we are so by all the rights which we have from nature, from the laws of society, from our forefathers, from all those consecrated titles which the human race have established. And not we only, but those vast countries which look up to us for their liberation. Our country, like a fond parent, always holds open her arms for the return of her children, and all its Members have at all times the right to return to the family from which they were torn. Poles, you shall not be long withheld from the joyful acclamation, that the kingdom of Poland, and the existence of the body of the Polish territory, is re-established. But to give this movement an irresistible force, let us interrogate the history of our ancestors,—let us inquire what

the ardent love of their country suggested,—let us only avoid the dangers which have deprived so many confederations of the effects which they ought to have produced. Their experience must not be lost upon us. We must impress on our Confederation a character of the strictest union,—we must make it a central point, round which to gather without confusion, or without requiring more than to know what is to be done when we have assembled. Then what force of man can stop the unanimous movement of a great people,—the forward spring of a people recovering its ancient existence, and which, to secure it more fully, forgets all its past sufferings, and offers itself to fly from sacrifices to sacrifices? Oh! happiest of days, day of triumph and rejoicing; before thee disappear all the days which ought to be blotted from our history, and the memory of man. Among all days, this day shall be renowned.—The descendants of the Piasts and the Jagellons may yet bear the name before which the tyrants that oppressed them have grown pale. Now Sigismonds and new Sobieskis will arise; and the world shall learn, that to produce the fruit of all the nobler virtues, the soil of Poland has only to be tilled by the hands of freemen. And you, venerable citizen (the Count Czartoriski appointed Grand Marshal of the Diet), who for near a century of virtue have yielded to the wishes of your fellow-citizens to preside over the most surprising scene of their history, how tender and touching a lesson does the reward of your integrity this day offer; placed, if we may use the expression, at the two extremes of the life of your country, you will have assisted at the twilight of its first life, and the dawn of its second; you will have seen it sink into the tomb, and rise in the purity of resurrection. It is to accomplish the generous resolution for the liberty of Poland, that your Committee has the honour of presenting the Act of the following Confederation:—

Act of the General Confederation of Poland.

We, the undersigned, composing the General Diet, assembled at Warsaw, feel the moment that in which every thing around excites our admiration, and pervades our hearts with ardent patriotism. We feel our nation called upon to make the most energetic exertions, that the eyes of the world are fixed upon us, and that posterity, in judging of our conduct, will either bless or execrate our memories. Being desirous

of seriously contemplating our actual relations, we have appointed a Committee to consider of, and report to us those relations; thus wishing to profit by all those means Heaven has dispensed to us, in order to arrive at the object of our desires. Our effort is completed; in the Report of our Committees are portrayed those sentiments which animate us, and at the same time, the line of conduct is pointed out which we should follow. And according to these important representations, we have resolved to unite, and form a general Confederation. In order to evince the purity of our motives and our objects, we declare, in the face of Heaven and Earth, and of the Polish Nation, that we have no other view than the restoration of our country, hitherto dismembered by unprincipled violence, and to regenerate its pristine prosperity and independence, that we unite in general confederation, with consent, and under the authority of our gracious Sovereign, Frederic Augustus, Grand Duke of Warsaw, and King of Saxony, having at our head the Prince Adam Czartoriski, Staroste, General of Padolia, Nunceo (Nonce) of Warsaw, a citizen respectable by his age and virtues—that we continue faithful to the religion of our fathers, the Catholic and Apostolic, at the same time we dispense a perfect tolerance to all other faiths, following thus the examples of our ancestors in times when all Europe was afflicted with sanguinary religious wars—that we respect the authorities of the throne, the laws of the nation, and that we cherish in all its purity that national spirit, which for ages has been the distinguishing characteristic of the Polonese.

—Guided by similar considerations, we are unwilling to arrive by any but the most legal means, at our glorious object. And well recollecting the disastrous events which have passed, we solemnly declare that the general confederation will never aberrate from the path it has prescribed, nor tolerate abuses, which must end but in the ruin of the country. In consequence the administration of justice will vest in the legal authorities: while the consideration shall exercise in full plenitude, those powers which appertain to a general assembly of the nation, labouring in the grand work of restoring the country, and propagating with all its energies a national enthusiasm.

In order to confer on the Confederation, composed of the Members of the Diet, the whole Public National Authorities, &c. the means of proceeding with activity, we delegate the power with which it is invested, to

a Council General, which shall be assisted by the Marshal, and shall hold its sittings at Warsaw; and as an enterprise originating in motives so virtuous justly merits it, we have sent a deputation to his Majesty, the King of Saxony, to honour it with his formal approbation.—The cause of suffering innocence cannot be regarded but as that of God; so brilliant a procedure must extend its influence throughout Europe. This renovation, which will afford to the world an example of what should be done for oppressed humanity, which will restore Poland to its ancient prosperity, will present to the first Empire in the world an Ally, equally faithful and worthy. An Ally which, from its geographical situation and national character, it will have nothing to apprehend from, but every thing to hope; and therefore we must fondly conclude, that such an Empire will not refuse to our virtuous undertaking its powerful assistance. We shall lay at the feet of that Throne the assurance of our confidence and devotion, and implore that its creating word may complete that existence which we have incipiently received from it. But in order to render ourselves worthy of this glorious protection, we most solemnly aver, that no possible event shall chill that patriotic ardour which unites us, that we shall persevere in our glorious career, until we have re-united to our bosoms all those members of our common family, those brothers of our love, which the hand of tyranny has separated from us.—Polanders! You whom we thus call again to our bosom, judge of our feelings by your own. We implore you in the name of our common mother to unite mutually all your powers, and to fly to her support. Let her again press you to her heart; she presents to your exertions the equal road to virtue and to glory. Let us join in brotherly union, and the Divine Justice will not withhold our deserved recompense. We shall again see the arms of Lithuania grace our escutcheons, and hear the fertile fields of Volhinia, as well as the vast plains of Podolia, and the Ukraine resound with the joyous shouts—Live Poland!—live our Country!—It is therefore decreed as follows:—Art. 1. The Diet constitutes itself a General Confederation of Poland.—2. The General Confederation of Poland, exercising in all their fullness the powers which belong to the General Association of the Nation, declares, that the Kingdom of Poland, and the Body of the Polish Nation, are re-established.—3. All the Dietines of

the Duchy shall be convoked, and shall adhere to the Confederation. They shall transmit the Acts to the Council General of the Confederation.—4. All the Poles are invited, and authorized to join the Confederation, whether collectively or individually, and to communicate as speedily as possible their adhesion to the Council General.—5. All the portions of the Polish territory are invited to join the Confederation, in proportion as the enemy's removal shall enable them to do so. They are invited forthwith to form Dietines which shall send Deputies to convey their acts of adherence to the Council General. These shall become Members of the Diet of the General Confederation.—6. All officers, soldiers, civil and military agents, Poles by birth and inhabiting the Polish territory, unjustly retained by the Russians, are summoned to abandon the service of that power.—7. All the military men shall be replaced under the colours of Poland; and all the civil agents may be replaced, each in a corresponding department of the Polish Administration.—8. All the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities shall each in his department make known the existence, the spirit, and the object of the Confederation. For this purpose the Bishops shall issue their charges; the Prefects, Subprefects, and Mayors shall publish to those under their jurisdiction all the acts relative to this Confederation, and calculated to enlighten or support the spirit of the districts confided to their care. All the Commanders and Chiefs of corps in the army shall do the same to those under their orders.—9. All those Members of the Confederated Diet, who do not form part of the General Council, are authorized to return to their homes, till invited anew; and the Confederation expects from the zeal and patriotism of which they have just given proof, that they will employ that interval in increasing, each in his sphere, the patriotic dispositions of their fellow-citizens.—10. The Confederation, during its recess, delegates all the powers with which it is invested to the Council General selected from itself, residing at Warsaw, and composed of the following Members—Stanislas Count Zamoyiski, Senator Palatine; John Golaszewski, Bishop of Wigry; Alexander Linowski, Counsellor of State; Martin Badeni, Counsellor of State; Antony Ostrowski, Nuncio of the district of Brzeziny; Frederick Count Skorzewski, Nuncio of the district of Bromberg; Joachim Owidzki, Nuncio of the district of Lublin; Francis Wezyk, Nuncio of the district of Biala;

Francis Count Lubientski, Deputy of the district of Skamierz and Hebdow; Charles Skorkowski, Deputy of the city of Cracow; Cajetan Kozmian, Secretary of the General Confederation.—11. The number requisite to form a deliberation, shall be five.—12. The Secretary-General shall have a deliberative voice.—13. All the administrative, judicial, and military authorities shall continue the exercise of their functions.—14. A deputation shall be sent to his Majesty the King of Saxony, Duke of Warsaw, to request of him to accede to the General Confederation of Poland.—15. A deputation shall also be sent to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, King of Italy, to present to him the Acts of the Confederation, and to beg of him to encircle the cradle of reviving Poland with his powerful protection.—16. The Confederation, in the face of Heaven and earth, in the name of all the Poles, comes under a solemn obligation to prosecute to the end, and by all the means in their power, the accomplishment of the great work which is this day commenced.—17. The Confederation declares, that, under circumstances in which all its labours, all its wishes, tend only to the re-establishment of the country, and to the union of all its parts, it cannot regard as a true Pole, as a good citizen, whosoever shall dare to search into the past for motives of division, or accusation: in one word, whosoever shall resort to any measure calculated to plant the germe of discord in the bosom of a family, which every thing conducts towards union.—18. The Ministers are charged, each in his own department, to make known, through the medium of the journals or otherwise, all the Acts which have emanated from the Confederation, or which shall be in future addressed to it.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

(Continued from page 254.)

AMERICAN STATES.—*Correspondence on the Orders in Council.*—*Mr. Foster to Mr. Monroe.*—*Washington, June 4, 1812.*

Sir,—Since I had the honour of seeing you at your office yesterday, I have perceived an article in the public prints, stated to be extracted from an English news-paper, and purporting to be an official declaration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that the Orders in Council will be, and are,

absolutely revoked, from the period when the Berlin and Milan Decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French Government, publicly promulgated, be expressly and unconditionally repealed. A considerable time has elapsed since, by order of my Government, I had the honour of urging to you the expediency of procuring such an authentic act from the French Government; and in all probability the above declaration may have been issued in the confident expectation, that the Government of the United States would have been able to produce it ere this.—At all events, Sir, considering the important nature of the above-mentioned article, and the probability that I shall have soon to be the organ of some official communication to the American Government in relation to it, I cannot but trust, that no measure will, meanwhile, be adopted by the Congress, which would defeat the endeavour of procuring a complete reconciliation between our two countries.—Should any embarrassments arise in consequence of the declaration on the subject of the proposed revocation of the Orders in Council above alluded to resting at present upon a mere statement in the news-papers, it will no doubt occur to your recollection, that on the enactment of those Orders a measure was taken by Congress for the purpose of meeting them, when they were as yet known but through the public prints. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

A. J. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster to Mr. Monroe.—Washington, June 4, 1812.

Sir,—I must rely upon your candour to feel for the embarrassment into which your note of this day has thrown me. Willing to comply with the request contained in it, I yet cannot but be sensible that in making any portion of a dispatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State to me the subject of a correspondence between us, I should not be justified to my own Government. I believe there is no example of a correspondence of such a nature, and I should be very loath to establish the precedent.—When I had the honour to make the communication of Lord Castlereagh's dispatch to you in consequence of its being left to my own discretion to do so, I did it because I had reason to think, from the number of my letters which there remained unanswered at your office, such a communication, if

made through a note, might have shared the fate of the rest. You will recollect, that it was at your own request that I acceded to the dispatch being communicated to the President; and that it was also at your instance, as being the only regular way in which the subject could come before the American Government, that I determined to write to you a note founded upon it. You were aware, at the latter end of last week, that such was my determination, which I repeated to you through Mr. Graham, who called upon me the 30th ult. to ask me when I contemplated sending it to your office. The notice must have reached you, and been read, before any message could have been sent from the Executive to Congress.—I cannot, Sir, consider my note as liable to the charge of ambiguity, which you now impute to it. The abandonment of our most important maritime rights is more extensively than ever connected by France with a demand of the repeal of our Orders in Council; and while you are entirely silent as to how far America concurs with her on this point of vital interest to Great Britain, without even a prospect of a reply from you to our just complaints, as expressed in my note on the coincidence of the attitude taken by America with the hostile system of France, I cannot but be aware of the difficulties to which I should expose myself in entering into an explanation on any insulated passage in it. I might, perhaps, by continued silence on your part, never afterwards have an opportunity of making further explanation; and you are well aware how frequently points taken unconnected with what precedes or follows them, are liable to misconstruction. But, Sir, as a reason paramount to every other for my not committing myself to an explanation on any single topic without the discussions between us were to be continued, is the publication of the highly important declaration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to which I had the honour to allude in my note to you of this morning. You will there find stated, in as explicit and authentic a manner as language can convey, the grounds upon which His Majesty's Orders in Council will be revoked. I cannot, it is true, as yet, refer you officially to this document; but I may now be in the expectation of receiving it, in a formal state, within a few days, and together with it, every explanation possible which you may require.

A. J. FOSTER.

Mr. Monroe to Mr. Foster.—Department of State, June 6, 1812.

Sir, I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 4th inst. The receipt of that of May 30th has already been acknowledged.—As these letters relate to the same subject, the Orders in Council, I shall take both into my view in this reply.—I am not disposed to make any unnecessary difficulty on account of the informality of the document alluded to in the last letter. If the declaration of the Prince Regent was such as to afford the satisfaction required, it would be received in any form entitled to credit, with great interest, as a token of just and friendly sentiments in your Government towards the United States; but nothing is seen in that act of the character which you impute to it. Without removing a single objection to the principle on which the Orders in Council were issued, and have been maintained, it affords a complete justification of the demand heretofore made on your Government for their repeal.—The British Government has complained that the United States demanded the repeal of the Orders in Council in a conditional repeal of the French Decrees, although the French condition required nothing of Great Britain which she ought not to have consented to, and was, moreover, a condition subsequent, and not precedent; and it now proposes to repeal the Orders in Council conditionally also, with this difference, that the condition on which their repeal is to be made is a condition precedent, and not subsequent, and is likewise one which Great Britain has no right to claim.—This condition requires that the French Decrees shall be absolutely and unconditionally repealed; that is, that they shall be repealed according to explanations given, not only as they related to the United States, but as to all other neutral nations, and all who prohibited a commerce in British manufactures with the enemies of Great Britain.—So far as the French Decrees violated the neutral commerce of the United States, we had a right to demand the repeal, and obtained it. The repeal was declared by an authentic and formal act of the French Government, and communicated to this Government by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, and to the British Government by their Minister Plenipotentiary at London; and has, moreover, been officially published within the United States. The authenticity of the repeal was placed be-

yond all controversy, and the official manner in which it was communicated to your Government ought to have been satisfactory to it. A general repeal of the French Decrees in favour of all neutral nations, and of such parts of them as prohibited a trade with France, and the countries under her control, in British manufactures, the United States have not demanded, because they had no right to demand it.—It is farther made a condition of the proposed repeal of the declaration of the Prince Regent, that it shall take effect at a future uncertain day; and that the Orders in Council should be again in force, on a contingency of which the British Government is to be the sole judge. If this were a ground on which the United States could call upon France to repeal her Decrees in case they were still in force as to them, surely the French repeal, to take effect on a future specified day, and whose revival was not provided for on any contingency whatever, was a ground on which their call on Great Britain to repeal her Orders in Council, in respect to the United States, ought not to have been resisted.—In reply to your insinuation, that the demand made on your Government to repeal its edicts, which violate the neutral rights of the United States, is made in concert with France, to obtain from Great Britain an abandonment of her maritime rights; it is sufficient to refer you to documents which have been long before the public, and particularly to the letter of Mr. Pinckney to the Marquis Wellesley, of January 14, 1811, protesting in the most solemn manner against looking to any other source for the opinions and principles of the United States, than to the United States themselves. Let me repeat, with respect to the Orders in Council, that all we demand is, that they cease to violate the neutral rights of the United States, which they have violated, and still violate on the high sea: should they be continued as to France in any form which may not violate those rights, or as to any other neutral nation to which they may be applicable, it would be for such nation, and not for the United States, to contend against them.—The report of the French Minister, on which this declaration of your Government is founded, affords no proof that the French Government intended by it to violate its engagement to the United States, as to the repeal of the Decrees. It evidently refers to the Continental system, by the means relied on to enforce it. The armies of France
(*To be continued.*)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

287]

IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the *COURIER*:—"The Mutiny amongst the *LOCAL MILITIA*, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the *GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY* from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive 500 lashes each, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. A stoppage for their knapsacks was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the *Political Register*, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the *Political Register*; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

[288

two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

Published by R. BAGSHAW, Brydges-Street, Covent-Garden.

LONDON: Printed by J. M'Creery, Black Horse-Court, Fleet-street.